244 (Drawings f-h). The variety osă'bŏme (f) has the largest fruit; it is about 15 centimeters long, a bright yellowish-green with vague, speckled markings, and slightly narrowed toward the middle. In the case of the second variety (g), nia ngŏn (the real ngon) or nsūsūte (the dark ngon), the fruit, in contrast to that of the first kind, is usually oviform, twelve centimeters long, and dark green with streaks or strips of a light green color; sometimes the fruit is spotted. This variety appears to be the most common. Finally, mŏne ngŏn, the small ngon (h), is considerably smaller, measuring only nine to ten centimeters, rarely more, and it is brighter. Here the speckled marking, which we have already observed in osă'bŏme, is so blurred that one can speak of bright green specks on a somewhat darker background. As regards the seeds, I counted 190-200 in the case of osă'bŏme, 224 in the case of nsūsūte, and only 80 in the case of mŏne ngŏn. The seeds are pear-shaped (e) and white, and only the inside is eaten. Frequent crossings appear among the fruit although on one and the same plant fruit of the same variety is usually found, and hence it is possible to speak of genuine species, just as in the case of apples and pears.

244 262 Among the seven chief food plants, ngon occupies fourth place. Only among the Jaunde does it take fifth place, while maize has moved to fourth. I cannot determine whether it was only the drier climate of Jaunde country that caused maize which thrives in a dry climate to be preferred to ngon which grows more successfully in the rainy southern and western Pangwe region. In any case, ngon is of such importance for the huge Pangwe region and far beyond it that one would think considerable space would be devoted to it in technical books about tropical cultivated plants /94/. As it happens, however, the plant is not mentioned by Sadebeck, Fesca, or anywhere else.

244 773 Concerning the origin of the name, the Fang tell the following little story. At first the name ngŏn was quite unknown; the plant was simply called by the general name ekŭluga (from a kŭt, "to crack," because the seeds are opened by being cracked, and this is a general expression for all fruits that are opened by cracking and have an edible interior, for instance, andŏk = Irvingia, etc.). Furthermore, ngon was not yet cultivated as it

244 only slightly indented near the bottom and the stalk of the leaf is articulated down by the flat part, while the macabo has true arrow-shaped leaves so that the indentation extends down to the stalk. Furthermore, macabo leaves have a slight sheen on the surface, while taro leaves are dull and their veins have an almost bluish tinge. Taro has yellow blossoms; macabo has white, green, and rose tinted ones; both blossom in the rainy seasons.

Strangely enough, Europeans in the Cameroons tend to prefer macabo to taro; the former is their substitute for the potato in Africa, although the latter, if merely steamed, doubtless has the better taste. At the same time the Pangwe have little love for
● [262] macabo and have retained taro, their traditional cultivated plant. The explanation for this may be the fact that the Europeans first employed cooks from among the Batanga /Tanga/, one of the coastal peoples. Macabo is more important to them than taro, and their word akabe (plural, makabe) became macabo among the Europeans. Generally speaking, there is little to say about macabo cultivation among the Pangwe. They simply let it grow in the old places between the plantains around the village, just as it was left by departing predecessors. There it stands today -- reverting to the wild state -- and anyone can take as much as he likes. When the Pangwe settle a new region, however, they too plant macabo in the village and occasionally cultivate it. Two species of macabo are distinguished: the green mfū'm ekábe (mfū'm, "white, bright"), whose tubers are white; and a second, nsūt ekábe (nsūt, "dark"), whose leafstalks are a dark reddish color and whose tubers are likewise reddish. The white species is indisputably the better one. The dark species is not suited for the preparation of the macabo biscuits that are popular among the Europeans.

Taro, on the other hand, is cultivated, and since, as is well known, it thrives on moist soil, it is planted in the vicinity of swamps or in places with an abundance of water, more rarely near houses, and usually together with macabo. Taro farms are generally not large. There are three species of taro:

1. mfū'm atū: leafstalks green, underside of the leaf smooth;
2. atšále III (from a dža, "to fill"; this species bears so many little tubers that they fill a whole plate): leafstalks bluish, underside of the leaf smooth; /102/

244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (ažǒ́n); Solanum dinklagei U. D. (oyṓla); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ažǒ́ń ntắńgan = ažǒ́ń, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (zǔ́m IV, enĕ́m) with three varieties: niắ zǔ́m = true zǔ́m, ntǔ́ma I, and ndzēi′ -zǔ́m, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etǔi′ -zǔ́m from etǔi′ - Solanum duplosinuatum U. D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (zǔ́m e mvĕ́lḛ́, that is, zǔ́m of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fŏ́lŏ́m [?], ebū́nĕgắn); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fŏ́lŏ́m IV, fŏm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osím); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asŏ́b); Plectranthus spec. (avắ), afŭ́n; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elĕ́lắnge, Ntum; elắńgelắnge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

● [262] The dog (mvū́ IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

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231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from 231 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the 552 characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǒno (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǒn (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǒnō (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondō′ (?, man's name): ntōde-abǎń (single otter, woman's name); mfū′mežǒk (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎ′ń (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obō′nǒ (from obǒn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olǔ′n (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebō′nenǒń (one who always lies on the bed); aji′zǒk (a ji′ = to yearn, žǒk = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angǔ′n (dog's bell); odzǎ′m (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū′ (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name 556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [262] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǒ′le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǔma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

235 For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
417 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

235 During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
177 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang region and were called elõ (wild duck = elõ't); later they were called sõõ' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yõt) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esă'să' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvũfũh IV, hũi' IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wũi/ ; plural, mũi'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

000 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) ngon; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

● 262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tit; "boiled meat," nnĭăman e tit, from a niăm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

266 184 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

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the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

●262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏ̄n) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ̄ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭ̱n IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭ̱n; plural, biŭ̱n, mŭ̱ń), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏ̱ń I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

262 The names for the various parts of the slaughtered animal (goat) can be seen in Figure 92.

Among invertebrate animals, the following are eaten: the larvae (fŏs IV) of the palm weevil Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. and of the rhinoceros beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (larva = akŭm); even the large elephant dung beetle Copris (ejā'žok, Jaunde) by the Jaunde; 21 different kinds of caterpillars, mostly Saturnidae (nkŭn I = edible caterpillar); dragonfly larvae and termites (sŭme IV Ntum, kăp Jaunde); common crabs and shrimp; snails, with the exception of Limacidae; and a river mussel.

Of the lower animals mentioned, the rhinoceros beetle larvae, which live in the leafstalks of the raffia palm, deserve to be noticed by Europeans. They taste very good fried and may indeed almost be regarded as a delicacy (one recalls the cossus /Ed., a kind of larvae under the bark of trees/ of the Romans!). Even the termites might be a tasty dish if the unpleasant long wings could be removed. In the Mwele region near Simekoa I saw termite nests of the variety called kăp carefully fenced inside the plantations. As they fly out in great numbers, they are caught in baskets; some of them are eaten alive with the wings, and some of them are prepared by the women. They taste like raw eggs, and if they were baked into some kind of bread, they would not be at all bad, if it were not for the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that the wings are an undesirable accompaniment.

If the Pangwe were not so deficient in hunting skill, if they did not have a genuine horror of slaughtering their domestic animals, and if they were to set traps somewhat more industriously and regularly, /145/ they would not suffer any dearth of fresh meat in view of the abundance of game in their land, but as it is, plants chiefly make up their diet.

222 262 The cultivated vegetables have already been mentioned in the previous section. /Fig. 92 appears here in the original text./ Under ordinary circumstances wild vegetables are only a part of the regular fare, but during periods of famine or on other occasions when food has become scarce, these plants frequently serve as staples for the Pangwe.

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Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kiñ; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebòk; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvöbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

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262 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esăn e kǭě Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esắn e kā́ʻda); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engŏ́n, num afú̧n), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fǭ́ʻǫ́m), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kǭlǭ́ʻt); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fȩ̄́i), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzȩ̄́i, masămengŭmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzȩ̄́i I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Willd. (mfŏ̧́s I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngūkŭ́n IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otḝ́k); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbăbe-lŭ́mo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esăn-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (osisắn-bongŭ́n-bʻojĕ́k); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangắme III Fang, engukŏ́m Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndĕ́s IV, klȩ̄́s IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esắn); and finally, of ferns (zŏ́n IV), in particular Dryopteris

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejǎ
262 m'abǫ̌k), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undúndu akō), Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engǎs), Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) (nkǎdenā́ III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels (ezĭzṓn-ošŭ,e), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esé't).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajā́'n I Fang, ekanemvé'lę̄ Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkōk = sugar, ajǎn = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekǎn sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pō'pō Jaunde, adžábentǎngan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adžáb – Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntǎngǎn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olǫ́s Fang, alǭs Ntum, ngǫ̆ambā́'n IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbǎn I, njǫ̆mō I, Ntum, Fang; myŭ'ndę̆ IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseracea (asǎ Ntum, ošŭ,ná Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[252] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (asē,ǎ; fruit, sēǎ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

222 same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea Mimusops djave (Lan.)
262 Engl. (adžắb; fruit, ebǫ̆̄n), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubacea (andǫ̆̄́k; fruit, ndǫ̆̄́k IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm Podococcus barteri, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the
[252] kernel of the Irvingia barteri are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bassá; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are Coula edulis Baill., Olacinacea (ewūǫ̆̄́mō, Fang; ewūḗme, Ntum; fruit, kṓmō or kūḗme); Panda oleosa Pierre (afā́ne[k] ;fruit, fā́ne[k] and a variety unknown to me (andǫ̆̄́ ; fruit, ndū́ IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (andǒtǫ̆̄́m Ntum, atǫ̆̄́m Fang; fruit, ndǒtǫ̆̄́m IV Ntum, tǫ̆̄́m IV Fang); Anacardiaceae Trichoscypha spec. (amyūt, fruit myūt IV; and engǫ̆̄ń, fruit ngǒń); the pulp of various Landolphia varieties, namely, Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayǔ́m), Landolphia piriformis Stapf (dzǎ́ III), and two other varieties (efǒfǫ̆̄́do Fang and kǫ̆̄́mo III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- insofar as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like Laccodiscus and Pseudospondias, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: Parinarium tessmannii Engl., Rosaceae (efṓt); Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl., Sapotaceae (mbǎ́m I); Pachylobus tessmannii Engl., Burseraceae (nga-angǒlǒngǒ́); Laccodiscus spinulosus dentatus Radlk., Sapindaceae (afū́lūń); Pseudospondias microcarpa

(Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǭs); Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl., likewise (angǫ́kǭn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā́ī); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǭn, tǭmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisā́ń); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangā́me III Fang, engūkǫ́m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ́b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akāk e sā́ń); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzā́-odzídzík or bodzábodzídzík); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osū́e); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐń e ndzǐk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǭn); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǭm elí); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū́mǎ, alū́ma, and akūndū́m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyíne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǭm; fruit, esū́n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found indispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okālāń IV, undūndū III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǭn I) and

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 445 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esŭ gă (hence the name sŭk, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-sók "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grind- 252 stone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (eyĭn-ndŏk, efę́-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ́k; fruit, ndŏ́k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (alŏ́k), round as a ball.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntó'no I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ's) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebó'na, ekŏkŏ'e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the large Achatina marginata Sw. (kō'ī') by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tōk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

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The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (myé' I, yíŏk; plural, lōk) made of clay (vī'ŏk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (myé', vī'ŏk) and smaller ones (obébē') on the pot loft (akán e myé'). Through the trading companies, iron pots with three feet (mēkó'ne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

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262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkŭ́na mbŭ́n, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwé̋t).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afŏk anū, hamoś ebań e nkǒ́k,
In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfŭ́m"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

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4. Palm seed oil (mbɔ̀n e mbaŋ, maniaŋga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

[362]

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Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

769 224 826 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means, whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī)ă', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again [262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 799 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebration which is called aŋgūŋgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus [825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles, [824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 226 224 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

752 278 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

●262 784 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call bekī, (from ekī,). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī, bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī, bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) ekī, bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī,-bondŭ'măn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī, abŭm = taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at the time of pregnancy, or ekī, mŏn = taboo because of the child, that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

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[Text continues on page 60]

262 784 [843] nothing else but the man who with the help of the female body is newly formed, nourished, and born; 5) ekí bongō'n = taboo for young girls.

The following list will show which animals are never eaten, which are subject to an ekí, and which are not forbidden.

A. Mammals

1. Never eaten.

262 [784] Crocidura species (mbášū,m I); Mus rattus L. (tólō III); Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūk esón); and the inside of the elephant's tusks (ngǒ e zǒk I), which it is likewise forbidden to step over, "because flaccid and bitter." /185/

2. ekí bebin or ekí bonenga.

Sheep and goats (kábád IV) among the Fang; Simia satyrus L. (woá III) among the Fang; Gorilla gorilla L. (ngí IV); Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūí, Fang) among the Fang; Cephalophus dorsalis Gray (sǒ' IV); Neotragus batesi Winton (odžū,ē') among the Fang; the last two are also taboo for the uninitiated of the Sso cult.

3. ekí, bandúman.

Bats (otá,n), which also may not be touched by adults (ekí, a bí,); fruit bats (indē'm) and Scotonycterus zenkeri Matschie (ngōm I); Dendrohyerax tessmannii A. Br. (nī,ū'k IV); Perodicticus batesi Winton (awū'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (másátsí'di I and III); Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emám IV) which also may not be touched; Anomalurus species (ngui IV); Mus species (edǔ,); Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (zöp' IV); Bdeogale and Herpestes species (mvā,k); elephant's trunk "because the limb becomes weak"; elephant's limb; Phatages giganteus Illiger (pfí'ma IV) and Manis species (ká' IV); Sciurus wilsoni (kūē' III).

4. eki-abum or eki-mǫ̀n.

●262
843 Sheep and goats (kǎbǎd IV), the large male animals because of their heavy breathing, and the child would have the same heavy breathing; Cercopithecus brazziformis Pocock (fǔ̀n IV) and Miopithecus talapoin Erxl. (ozǒ'm), usually not eaten at all by women capable of bearing children; Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ošǒk); C. laglaizei Pocock (avǒ'm) and Colebus anthracinus Leconte (mvǫ̂n IV), eaten by some when the child is born and by others during pregnancy, but in that case they prepare a medicine which eliminates the bad effect; Thryonomys swinderenianus Temm. (mvǐ'b IV) until the birth (if eaten during pregnancy, an antidote is necessary since otherwise the child would get festering skin ulcers, pfǒ IV, on the leg; Sciurus rufobrachiatus aubryi A.M.E. (ovē'i) and Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu, egg-devouring female (nsǒm I); Sciurus rubripes Du Chaillu (edǔn) until the birth; Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvok) until the birth if the animal was caught in a tree hollow (tree hollow = female sex organ; the child would remain stuck in the same manner in the mother's "belly," as the squirrel in the hollow) (1); Cricetomys

1. In what follows I have omitted as obvious the fear of the Pangwe that the child might acquire the same characteristics or properties as those possessed by the animal.

dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) until the birth if the animal is sighted near its burrow and killed during its flight; Atherura africana Gray (ngǔm IV) if it is killed by means of baskets at its burrow, /186/ only the skin is taboo if the animal was killed in flight; Mus hypoxanthus Pucheran (abǒk), but because of its small size it is eaten only by young and old people; Mus species (ekǒn), eaten only by young and old people because the animal trembles and because of its small size; Mus species (ndūń I) because of its long feet; Myoxus angolensis Winton (osi,m Ntum) because it lives in burrows; Elephas africanus Blumenb., the head taboo until the birth because it is feared that the child would have an equally big head, the feet until

262 843 the birth because it is feared that the child would have club feet; Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūī, IV Fang), head and belly until the birth, the head because of its ugly appearance, the belly because of its warts; Bubalus (niă't IV), male animals because they make a rattling noise; Hyemoschus aquaticus Gilg (viǒn, plural lǒn) until the birth; Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I) and Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), male animals; Cephalophus nigrifrons Gray (žům IV) until the birth; Cephalophus leucogaster Gray (miē IV Fang), the animal is supposed "to die of its own accord."

5. Taboo for young girls.

262 [825] Mus univittatus Pet. (mvǒ'n IV) because of the shamelessness of the mouse which in the presence of people steals the Kassada /Trans., cassava?/ as it is being washed; the young girls, therefore are afraid, if they eat the mouse, that a man would steal them just as quickly.

6. Not taboo.

Dog (mvū IV); Maimon planirostris Elliot (esöge); Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm), but eaten only by young people because of its small size; Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsēi, I); Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte and sharpei Gray (osŏn) among the Ntum and Sciurus subviridescens Leconte (sĭb IV); Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) if it is caught in a spring trap and is carrying fruit in its cheeks, but in this case the fruit must be kept in the dining area (būū) and burned to cinders after the birth of the baby; Cricetomys dissimilis and Atherura africana Gray if caught under circumstances other than those so far described; Mus longipes A.M.E. (kǒm IV); Mus pusillulus Peters (okīb), Mus pulchellus Gray (zŏfŏ III), Mus sebastianus Winton (ekū,ī'), Mus species (ayūlū ekū,ī'), Mus tullbergii Thomas (ndă,n IV), but not eaten by adults because the animal is too small and because it lives in the vicinity of houses; Felis leopardus Schreb. (zŏ IV), Felis servalina Puch. (ebĭ'ŏ); Genetta aubryana Puch. (nsĭ'ń I); Nandinia binotata

262 Reinw. (mvā i' IV Fang); Poiana poensis Waterh. (ojǎn); Lutra matschieei Cabr. (abǎn) and Herpestes melanurus Gray (nsǒm I); Elephas africanus Bl. (zǫ́k IV); Potamochoerus albifrons /187/ Du Chaillu (ngui IV); Bubalus (niǎ't IV); Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǫ́'k I); Cephalophus longiceps Gray; sheep and goats with exception of the above-mentioned animals; Limnotragus gratus Scl. (žīb IV); Cephalophus callipygus Peters (mvǐn IV) and Cephalophus melanorheus Gray (ogbǔn).

B. Birds

1. Taboo for the initiated of the Mekang cult (women).

[794] Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'ń I) among the Fang.

2. ekī-bondǔ'mǎn.

Himantornis haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkū'lūngū' I); Milvus aegypticus (Gm.) (esǐ'sǎ'); Strigidae, especially Bubo species (ndžū k I) and Syrnium nuchale Sharpe (akūn); Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III) and Passer griseus (Vieill.) (myǎekū m IV).

3. ekī-abǔm or ekī-mǭn.

262 843 (a) Because the bird lives in caves or hatches its eggs in secluded nests: Vinago calva (Tem.) (obǒń) and Columba unicincta Cass. (apfǒ'b) until the birth if caught in the next; likewise Calopelia puella (Schl.) (edūgebǒ'm); Capitonidae, for example, Gymnobucco (ovǭ Ntum), Buccanodon (ejī'le), and Barbatula species (omvǒk); Indicatoridae (mā' III) and Picidae (ngǔ'megǒ IV); Bucerotidae, for example, Ceratogymna (ngǔń I), Bycanistes (miēm IV), Lophocerus fasciatus (Shaw) (okogbwai), and Ortholophus species until the birth in case they are caught walled up in their tree hollow; Nicator species (ekǫ́') until the birth if found in the nest; Sturnidae, for example, Lamprocolius species (kbǎ'ń IV) and Pocoptera (mesǭǭ'lǫ́ń IV) until the birth.

●262 §43 (b) Because the bird has ugly or unnatural visible characteristics: Pteronetta cyanoptera (Tem) Hartl. (alǎ́t Ntum) until the birth because of its ugly feet; Canirallus oculeus (Tem.) Hartl. (mvūlūbengǎ́s IV) until the birth because of its long legs and also because of its screeching; Ardeidae (esǐ́sǒ́-ošǔ́ Ntum) until the birth because of their long feet and long necks; Lophoaetus occipitalis (Daud) (abǎ́jě́k) because of the long neck feathers; Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (ejí̌le) because of its fat belly; Bias musicus (Vieill.) (abǎ́jě́[k] etǒk) because of its neck feathers; Diaphorophyia castanea (Fras.) (mekṓboga III) because of the flaps of skin below the eye; Motacilla vidua Sund (mangǒ̋mentě́me III) because of the bobbing tail; Camaroptera griseoviridis (v. Müll.) (dindǐ́ III) because of the long feet.

(c) Because the bird calls or screeches in a startling and ugly manner: Theristicus hagedash (Lath.) (ngǎmṓmṓ I); Turtur semitorquatus /188/ (Rüpp.) (žū́m IV) and Chalcopelia afra (L.) (odū́) until the birth; Francolinus lathami Cass. (obǒ̋m) until the birth; Psittacus erithacus L. (kǔ̋s IV) until the birth; Musophagidae, such as Corythaeola cristata (Vieill) (kǔ́nǘk IV) and Turacus species (mbǎ́ III) until the birth; Eurystomus species (kǎ́mǎ́k IV); Smithornis zenkeri Rchw. (nǔ́mekūpafǎ́n); Sigmodus rufiventris Bp. (angbūū́ngbūō̋) until the birth; Laniarius leucorhynchus (Hartl.) (nžūě́bekǒt IV); Lanius mackinnoni Sharpe (avēlḗabǒ̋be III); Dicrurus coracinus Verr. (obǎ́mǒ̋ke III).

(d) For other reasons: Polyboroides typicus A. Sm. (ehgbǎn) because of the way it squirts out its excrement and because of its screeching; Gypohierax angolensis (Gm.) until the birth if shot in the nest, since the bird badly befouls its nest; Alcedinidae, for example Halcyon species (akū́i); Ispidina species (okūdebakū́i) until the birth because of the peculiar way the birds duck down when they are on the lookout; many Muscicapidae, for example, Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species (okǔdūgu) because the bird always settles down on the same spot; Ploceus species (ngā́a III) because of the way they vibrate their wings; Spermestes and Estrilda species (edžō̋le) because of the way they keep seeds in their crops, "cheek pouches."

4. Not taboo.

262 Domestic hen; Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkă'n I) among the Ntum; Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwă); Agapornis pullarius (L.) (kŭ' o kiă'i, IV); Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (gbăwŭă III); Urotriorchis, Baza among others; Falconidae (obămedžū,i Fang); Ceutmochares and Clamator (nsŏ'mentŭ't I); Cuculus species (owū'a III) and Chrysococcyx (avē vē'abŏbe III); Lophocerus camurus (Cass.) (nkūkū'e I Ntum); Meropidae (otsidambū,i'), and Hirundinidae, such as Hirundo (mvā,i' IV) and Psalidoprocne species (kŭlejē'be III), but not eaten because of their small size; Tschitrea species (abŏbŏge III, mekō'tŏgō III); Campephaga (mbūī'jŏm I); Malaconotus gabonensis Shell. (ekō,); Dryoscopus senegalensis (Hartl.) (evŭ'gŭ); Oriolus species (mvū,i'n); Malimbus species (ngă e nkăn IV); Spermospiza guttata (Vieill.) (kŭ o sī, IV); Quelea erythrops (Hartl.) (sĕlĕkō'ŏ III Ntum), but not eaten because of their small size; Nigrita species (makūmašū,bo III), likewise; all Pycnonotidae and Nectariniidae (esi'sŏ' Ntum); Cisticola (ekūī'ni-otō,k) and Turdus pelios saturatus Cab. (etī'tŏ').

C. Reptiles

1. Never eaten.

Chamaeleon cristatus Stutsch (džĭngbwō' Fang); Lygosoma reichenowi Ptrs. (nšūē' III) and Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŏ'makūkūī'); Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III) (1). /189/

[184] 1. Eaten only among the Jaunde by boys.

2. ekī, bondúman.

Varanus niloticus L. (nkăā'k III); Cinixys erosa Schw. (kŭ IV); Mecistops cataphractus Cuv. (ngăn IV) and Crocodilus niloticus

262 (Laur.) (nkŭm I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭm or ekī-mŏn.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ'm IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[714] [184] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏk I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajă'ń).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭń IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭń VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭń I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edzŏ); Hylambates species (akăbĕ III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obă't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (miĕ'nezŏk IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

262 would otherwise become Ngi sick.

2. ekī, abǔm until the birth.

262
843 Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekī,da Fang) because of its tendency to spoil rapidly; Eutropius banguelensis? (nkǎ'de-ošōb III) because of its large belly; Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (mbūń I) because the fish "is supposed to die of its own accord"; Distichodus notospilus Gthr. (akǒ'lo III) because of its large gills; Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.), var. gravoti Pellegr. (nsǐn I; small specimens, ndǎngō'na III), because of the large head (see Volume I, Plate 11, Drawing a); Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngǔ' IV), smaller specimens because of their large head; Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū') because of the fat belly; Alestes kingsleyae Gthr. (mbǎk I) because of "the snout."

The other fish are not taboo. /190/

F. Lower Animals

1. ekī, bonduman.

262 Larvae of the beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (akū,m); the snail Pseudachatina downesii (Gray) (nšō'ǎboń I Ntum); Pseudoglessula retifera v. Mart. (tǎń IV) and another snail (ebǔs).

2. ekī, bonenga, for men ekī, abǔm.

Achatina species, especially marginata Sw. (kō,ī' IV) (1).

1. In case of transgression, the offenders become Ngi sick.

262

3. ekī, abŭm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkŭn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fŏs IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sŭē me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esɛ̄ī, -bāk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alŭn).

All other lower animals are inedible.

[794] Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlŭm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 784 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

784 825 794 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sŏ). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odžū,ē) which is worshipped in a manner

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

843 In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
825 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
784 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
262 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abă'jg'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

843
262 supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to
784 eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his
[845] hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins (mvé, "pot," and mvŏ, "vagina").

In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food
262 taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biă,ń ekī,) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simul-
[177] taneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

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1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

524 539 518

a mpfǎ, ndʉ̀man a mpfǎ mangöö, niene: ê,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangöö, he says: Come now,

bōte, mi adǎń a kʉ̀bo (or a ngǒngǒ);
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kǫ̀n bekǒ̀na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Beköna, he thus:

a dzǐ sǒ̀ kǒ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbʉ̀ń a bǐm o ngūē, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dzī ogbʉ̀ń.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Beköna, the well-known Beköna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangöö. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Beköna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangöö." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

957 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkŭli," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [362] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is [826] an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly 681 done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them [161] (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little ● 262 inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to 163 deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

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113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Camerouns, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{\circ}45$ to $12^{\circ}45$ long.
and a few islands between 10° and $10^{\circ}30$ long.

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1, 950 square km.
161 Population: 23, 291 inhabitants
Density: 11. 9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
● 262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

197 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to
114 its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that
262 their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

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de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I.R.C.A.M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

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2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

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Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
262

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but
224 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam
262 streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewondo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and
[177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside
[279] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a 26 heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔbôm, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɔ́'ɔlɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and 292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔbôm, a tailpiece /séant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akoñ, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or éndeñ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the 301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's 75 teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective 293 "medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The 292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbòe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Ekì* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Ekì* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nkɨ*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboe* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndâtâl: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tâs: be sâli ne nye: be nâû mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vckoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.*

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Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'anyege infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nson ane afan betata benga to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angéye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bstyit: bevok benga sôm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vic bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbóa kidiase* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

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Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

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XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

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This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat